

## Message Text

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ACTION ARA-14

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 HA-05 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01  
INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15  
USIA-06 EB-08 AID-05 IGA-02 OMB-01 TRSE-00 AGRE-00  
/084 W

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P R 231136Z FEB 78  
FM AMEMBASSY MONTEVIDEO  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5888  
INFO AMEMBASSY ASUNCION  
AMEMBASSY BUENOS AIRES  
AMEMBASSY BRASILIA  
AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

S E C R E T MONTEVIDEO 0606

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: AMGT, PINT, SHUM, UY  
SUBJECT: GOALS AND OBJECTIVES - URUGUAY

REFS: (A) MONTEVIDEO A-2 (NOTAL), (B) STATE 23843, STATE  
34007, STATE 38348

1. THE FOLLOWING IS THE SUMMARY TELEGRAM OF THE MISSION'S GOALS AND OBJECTIVES PAPER (REF A) TRANSMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT VIA CLASSIFIED AIR POUCH FEB 22.
2. IN THE ABSENCE OF OTHER OVERRIDING INTERESTS OR ISSUE, HUMAN RIGHTS HAS BECOME THE DOMINATING AND, WITH FEW EXCEPTIONS, ALL PERVASIVE ISSUE IN OUR RELATIONS WITH URUGUAY. IT DIRECTLY AFFECTS THE ACCOMPLISHMENT OF ALL OF OUR GOALS AND OBJECTIVES.
3. FOLLOWING A SUCCESSION OF USG SANCTIONS AGAINST THE GOU BECAUSE OF ITS HUMAN RIGHTS RECORD AND THE GOU'S NEGATIVE REACTION TO THEM, OUR RELATIONS WITH THE GOU "BOTTOMED

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OUT" SHORT OF A FORMAL BREAK AND HAVE STAGNATED AT THAT LEVEL. DESPITE THIS CONDITION THE MISSION HAS BEEN ABLE TO CONTINUE TO DIALOGUE WITH HIGH-LEVEL GOU MILITARY AND CIVILIAN OFFICIALS ON THE CRUCIAL ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS. ALTHOUGH THIS DIALOGUE HAS YET TO PRODUCE ANY SIGNIFICANT IMPORVEMENTS IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION, WE CONTINUE TO PURSUE IT AS THE ONLY COURSE LEFT OPEN TO US.

4. THE MISSION'S CURRENT OVERALL APPROACH TO ACHIEVE OUR GOALS AND OBJECTIVES IN URUGUAY, THEREFORE, IS ONE OF PATIENT EDUCATION AND ENCOURAGEMENT; EDUCATING THE GOU AS TO THE REALITY AND COSTS OF ITS POOR HUMAN RIGHTS IMAGE AND ENCOURAGING IT TO TAKE POSITIVE ACTIONS TO IMPROVE THIS IMAGE BY CORRECTING THE ERRORS OF THE PAST, RESTORING INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES AND RETURNING TO A STATE OF LAW AND REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT AT AN EARLY OPPORTUNITY. THIS PROCESS IS PURSUED THROUGH CONTACT WITH KEY MILITARY AND CIVILIAN FIGURES, SUPPLEMENTED BY INFORMATIONAL AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRAMS TO REACH LARGER GROUPS. ALL MEMBERS OF THE MISSION ARE ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN THIS OVERALL APPROACH. INDIVIDUAL AND AGENCY EFFORTS ARE CLOSELY COORDINATED AND EXPERIENCES SHARED ON A DAILY BASIS.

5. THROUGH PATIENT EDUCATION WE HOPE TO GET THE GOU TO FACE THE REALITY AND COSTS OF ITS HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION AND TO ACCEPT THE RESPONSIBILITY OF TAKING POSITIVE STEPS TO IMPROVE IT. TO SUCCEED WE HAVE TO: A) OVERCOME THE INSULARITY AND INSECURITY OF THE KEY GOU DECISION MAKERS; B) PENETRATE THEIR TANGLED GOVERNMENT PROCESS, AND C) COUNTER NEGATIVE PRESSURES ON THEM FROM THEIR VERY POWERFUL SOUTHERN CONE NEIGHBORS. WE WILL ENCOURAGE ANY POSITIVE INITIATIVE, HOPING THAT ONE TAKEN IT WILL SET IN MOTION A PROCESS OF IMPROVEMENT. ONCE THAT PROCESS BEGINS WE WILL HAVE TO  
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RESPOND POSITIVELY WITH ACTIONS OF OUR OWN WHICH WILL HELP TO MAINTAIN ITS MOMENTUM.

6. IN RESPONDING TO PROGRESS WE SHOULD NOT DEAL IN THE FAMILIAR BUT HIGHLY QUESTIONABLE TERMS OF "CARROTS AND STICKS", VIEWING THE ACTIONS WE MIGHT TAKE AS "REWARDS, PAYOFFS OR LEVERAGE." INSTEAD WE SHOULD VIEW OUR POSSIBLE RESPONSES AS STEPS WE WOULD TAKE (AS A RESULT OF THE IMPROVED SITUATION) TO REMOVE THE RESTRAINTS WE HAVE PLACED ON OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH THE GOU, THEREBY ALLOWING A RETURN TO A NORMAL, CLOSE AND COOPERATIVE RELATIONSHIP. THE SPECIFIC ACTIONS WE TAKE, THEREFORE, WOULD BE DETERMINED BY WHAT SHOULD CONSTITUTE SUCH A RELATIONSHIP WITH URUGUAY IN THE 1979-80 PERIOD, PARTICULARLY IN THE MILITARY AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AREAS.

7. WE VIEW OUR RETURN TO A NORMAL RELATIONSHIP AS CLIMBING UP FROM THE LOW LEVEL TO WHICH THE RELATIONSHIP HAS SUNK. ACCORDINGLY, WE PROPOSE PROCEEDING BACK UP THE LADDER VERY MUCH IN THE ORDER WE DESCENDED. INITIALLY, WE SHOULD BEGIN BY TAKING ADVANTAGE OF WHAT IS STILL IMMEDIATELY AVAILABLE TO US: PERMITTING THE USE OF THE FMS CREDIT (THROUGH FY 78) FOR

CAREFULLY SELECTED ITEMS SUCH AS ROAD BUILDING AND COMMUNICATIONS EQUIPMENT AND READILY APPROVING FMS CASH AND COMMERCIAL SALES FOR SPARES AND OTHER NON-CONTROVERSIAL ITEMS; BOOSTING OUR EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL EXCHANGES; INCREASING OTHER VISITS AND DIALOGUE. WE WOULD THEN PROCEED IN ROUGH CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER TO REMOVE HUMAN RIGHTS RESTRAINTS ON EX-IM FINANCING AND AN OPIC PROGRAM; TO SUPPORT OR ABSTAIN ON URUGUAYAN LOANS IN THE IFI'S; TO CONSIDER APPROPRIATE ELEMENTS OF A BILATERAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE RELATIONSHIP (CCC CREDITS, PL 480, SDA, PVO PROGRAMS, AID MILE INCOME STRATEGY, ETC.); AND, FINALLY, TO CONSIDER FUTURE PROGRAMS OF FMS CREDITS AND IMET, AT VERY MODEST LEVELS. THE SPECIFIC TIMING OF THE FOREGOING ACTIONS WOULD DEPEND ON HUMAN RIGHTS DEVELOPMENTS, BUT WE  
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WOULD FORESEE THEM TAKING PLACE IN THE ORDER GIVEN.

8. ON FEBRUARY 1, 1978, A NEW GENERAL (ALVAREZ) ASCENDED TO THE ALL IMPORTANT ARMY COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF POSITION. INTIMATES OF ALVAREZ HAVE ASSURED US THAT HE IS COMMITTED TO RESTORE INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES AND TO TAKE OTHER MEASURES THAT WILL IMPROVE THE HUMAN RIGHTS SITUATION AND RELATIONS WITH THE U.S. ALTHOUGH WE ARE UNCERTAIN AS TO ALVAREZ' ABILITY TO CARRY OUT A LIBERALIZATION PROGRAM IN THE FACE OF STRONG OPPOSITION FROM THE HARDLINE RIGHT, WE ARE CAUTIOUSLY OPTIMISTIC THAT SOME PROGRESS IN HUMAN RIGHTS WILL BE FORTHCOMING THIS YEAR.  
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